

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 054757  
ORIGIN NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00  
USIE-00 INRE-00 /048 R

DRAFTED BY NEA:WBRUBECK:TH  
APPROVED BY INR:HHS AUUNDERS  
NEA:NAVELIOTES  
L: LMARKS

-----104232 031515Z /23

O 031459Z MAR 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 054757

FOR ATHERTON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, XF

SUBJECT: WEST BANK SOVEREIGNTY QUESTION

REF: JERUSALEM 605

1. WE THINK IT BEST TO LEAVE THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY  
AS YOU STATED IT IN YOUR TESTIMONY TO THE FRASER AND  
HAMILTON SUBCOMMITTEES LAST FALL. PERTINENT PASSAGE READS  
QUOTE:

-- WHILE THE LEGITIMATE EXISTENCE OF A SOVEREIGN ISRAEL IN  
PART OF PALESTINE IS RECOGNIZED, THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY  
IN THE PART OF PALESTINE REMAINING OUTSIDE OF ISRAEL UNDER  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 054757

THE 1949 ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS HAS NOT BEEN FINALLY RESOLV-  
ED. JORDAN IN MAY 1950 DECLARED THAT ITS ANNEXATION OF THE  
WEST BANK WAS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE FINAL SETTLEMENT OF  
THE PALESTINE ISSUE, AND EGYPT DID NOT MAKE ANY SOVEREIGN  
CLAIM TO THE GAZA STRIP DURING THE TIME IT WAS THE ADMIN-  
ISTERING AUTHORITY THERE. ISRAEL SIMILARLY NOTES THE  
UNDEFINED NATURE OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA.

-- THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SETTLEMENTS AND THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION CANNOT BE DISCUSSED IN ISOLATION, BECAUSE THE SETTLEMENTS ARE BUT A SINGLE FACTOR

INVOLVED IN NEGOTIATING PEACE TREATIES THAT WILL PROVIDE AMONG OTHER THINGS FOR THE FUTURE OF THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP. IN THE VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES, THE IMPORTANT THING CONCERNING THE FUTURE DISPOSITION OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA IS THAT THE ARRANGEMENT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE PARTIES CONCERNED. UNQUOTE.

2. AS YOU WILL RECALL, WE DID NOT GO BEYOND THAT, AT THE TIME, TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION WHETHER, IN THE ABSENCE OF A CLEAR TITLE, THE FUTURE OF THE TERRITORIES IS FOR THE INHABITANTS TO DECIDE. WE CONTINUE TO THINK THAT THE QUESTION SHOULD NOT BE ADDRESSED AT THIS TIME. THE UNITED STATES HAS NEVER RECOGNIZED AN ISRAELI CLAIM TO SOVEREIGNTY IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, WHILE IT DOES NOT ADDRESS OR AFFECT THE ISSUE OF SOVEREIGNTY, YOUR FORMULATION QUOTED ABOVE THAT "THE FUTURE DISPOSITION OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA" MUST BE BY AN "ARRANGEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO THE PARTIES CONCERNED" IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH OUR ASWAN POSITION AND OUR PROPOSED GUIDELINES FOR THE WEST BANK/GAZA. AND, AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, WE WOULD EXPECT IT TO BE COMPATIBLE WITH WHAT THE SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 054757

EGYPTIANS EXPECT AND ARE PREPARED TO AGREE TO. WE THINK IT A BETTER WAY TO SEEK A SOLUTION THAN TO GET INTO, AT THIS TIME, THE SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE.

3. WE SUGGEST YOU POINT THIS OUT TO KAMEL NOTING THAT THE FORMULATION WOULD INCLUDE THE PALESTINIANS AMONG THE PARTIES AND THEREFORE WOULD CALL FOR THEIR PARTICIPATION IN AND AGREEMENT TO THE ARRANGEMENTS AGREED. WE WOULD BE INCLINED TO SAY TO HIM CANDIDLY THAT OUR POSITION IS TAILORED TO THE PRESENT PRACTICAL AND TACTICAL SITUATION, AS BEST CALCULATED TO HELP MOVE THE ISRAELIS TO ACCEPTANCE OF 242 IN ITS FULL MEANING AND TO THE AGREEMENTS ON A DECLARATION AND A WEST BANK/GAZA SOLUTION THAT FOLLOW THEREFROM. IT DOES NOT PRECLUDE GOING ON TO ADDRESS THE FURTHER LEGAL QUESTIONS INVOLVED IF, AT SOME FUTURE TIME, IT SEEMS USEFUL TO DO SO.

4. WITH RESPECT TO YOUR FURTHER QUESTION REGARDING LEGAL/HISTORICAL CITATIONS, WE ARE RESEARCHING WHAT WE SAID IN THE EARLY FIFTIES RE JORDAN'S TAKEOVER AND ANY OTHER RELEVANT MATERIAL. WE WILL HAVE THE RESULTS TO YOU BY SATURDAY MORNING YOUR TIME. THAT SHOULD ALLOW TIME FOR

US TO ANSWER ANY FURTHER COMMENTS YOU MAY HAVE BEFORE YOU  
SEE KAMEL MARCH 6. CHRISTOPHER

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 054757  
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 ISO-00 NEA-10 /026 R

66011

DRAFTED BY S/S-O:RCASTRODALE  
APPROVED BY RCASTRODALE

-----110272 040128Z /20

O 031850Z MAR 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 054757

FOR ATHERTON

FOL RPT STATE 054757 SENT ACTION JERUSALEM INFO CAIRO & TEL AVIV  
DTD 03 MAR 78

QUOTE: S E C R E T STATE 054757

FOR ATHERTON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, XF

SUBJECT: WEST BANK SOVEREIGNTY QUESTION

REF: JERUSALEM 605

1. WE THINK IT BEST TO LEAVE THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY  
AS YOU STATED IT IN YOUR TESTIMONY TO THE FRASER AND  
HAMILTON SUBCOMMITTEES LAST FALL. PERTINENT PASSAGE READS  
QUOTE:

-- WHILE THE LEGITIMATE EXISTENCE OF A SOVEREIGN ISRAEL IN  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 054757

PART OF PALESTINE IS RECOGNIZED, THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE PART OF PALESTINE REMAINING OUTSIDE OF ISRAEL UNDER THE 1949 ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS HAS NOT BEEN FINALLY RESOLVED. JORDAN IN MAY 1950 DECLARED THAT ITS ANNEXATION OF THE WEST BANK WAS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE PALESTINE ISSUE, AND EGYPT DID NOT MAKE ANY SOVEREIGN CLAIM TO THE GAZA STRIP DURING THE TIME IT WAS THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY THERE. ISRAEL SIMILARLY NOTES THE UNDEFINED NATURE OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA.

-- THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SETTLEMENTS AND THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION CANNOT BE DISCUSSED IN ISOLATION, BECAUSE THE SETTLEMENTS ARE BUT A SINGLE FACTOR

INVOLVED IN NEGOTIATING PEACE TREATIES THAT WILL PROVIDE AMONG OTHER THINGS FOR THE FUTURE OF THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP. IN THE VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES, THE IMPORTANT THING CONCERNING THE FUTURE DISPOSITION OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA IS THAT THE ARRANGEMENT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE PARTIES CONCERNED. UNQUOTE.

2. AS YOU WILL RECALL, WE DID NOT GO BEYOND THAT, AT THE TIME, TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION WHETHER, IN THE ABSENCE OF A CLEAR TITLE, THE FUTURE OF THE TERRITORIES IS FOR THE INHABITANTS TO DECIDE. WE CONTINUE TO THINK THAT THE QUESTION SHOULD NOT BE ADDRESSED AT THIS TIME. THE UNITED STATES HAS NEVER RECOGNIZED AN ISRAELI CLAIM TO SOVEREIGNTY IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, WHILE IT DOES NOT ADDRESS OR AFFECT THE ISSUE OF SOVEREIGNTY, YOUR FORMULATION QUOTED ABOVE THAT "THE FUTURE DISPOSITION OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA" MUST BE BY AN "ARRANGEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO THE PARTIES CONCERNED" IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH OUR ASWAN POSITION AND OUR PROPOSED  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 054757

GUIDELINES FOR THE WEST BANK/GAZA. AND, AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, WE WOULD EXPECT IT TO BE COMPATIBLE WITH WHAT THE EGYPTIANS EXPECT AND ARE PREPARED TO AGREE TO. WE THINK IT A BETTER WAY TO SEEK A SOLUTION THAN TO GET INTO, AT THIS TIME, THE SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE.

3. WE SUGGEST YOU POINT THIS OUT TO KAMEL NOTING THAT THE FORMULATION WOULD INCLUDE THE PALESTINIANS AMONG THE PARTIES AND THEREFORE WOULD CALL FOR THEIR PARTICIPATION IN AND AGREEMENT TO THE ARRANGEMENTS AGREED. WE WOULD BE INCLINED TO SAY TO HIM CANDIDLY THAT OUR POSITION IS TAILORED TO THE PRESENT PRACTICAL AND TACTICAL SITUATION,

AS BEST CALCULATED TO HELP MOVE THE ISRAELIS TO ACCEPT-  
ANCE OF 242 IN ITS FULL MEANING AND TO THE AGREEMENTS ON  
A DECLARATION AND A WEST BANK/GAZA SOLUTION THAT FOLLOW  
THEREFROM. IT DOES NOT PRECLUDE GOING ON TO ADDRESS THE  
FURTHER LEGAL QUESTIONS INVOLVED IF, AT SOME FUTURE TIME,  
IT SEEMS USEFUL TO DO SO.

4. WITH RESPECT TO YOUR FURTHER QUESTION REGARDING LEGAL/  
HISTORICAL CITATIONS, WE ARE RESEARCHING WHAT WE SAID IN  
THE EARLY FIFTIES RE JORDAN'S TAKEOVER AND ANY OTHER  
RELEVANT MATERIAL. WE WILL HAVE THE RESULTS TO YOU BY  
SATURDAY MORNING YOUR TIME. THAT SHOULD ALLOW TIME FOR  
US TO ANSWER ANY FURTHER COMMENTS YOU MAY HAVE BEFORE YOU  
SEE KAMEL MARCH 6. CHRISTOPHER UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** SOVEREIGNTY, WEST BANK, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 03 mar 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978STATE054757  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** WBRUBECK:TH  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780097-1113  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t197803108/aaaadnyj.tel  
**Line Count:** 238  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 948424b9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN NEA  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 78 JERUSALEM 605  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 21 jun 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 3122394  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** WEST BANK SOVEREIGNTY QUESTION  
**TAGS:** PGOV, XF  
**To:** JERUSALEM  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/948424b9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014